

ANTIQUITY

[77] diagonally superimposed on each other, exactly duplicating some of
 354 the ancient smoke-holes recently unearthed in Central Asia by Le
 342 Coq. A large store-room about 6 feet deep runs the full width and
 352 height of the house and is entered by a door at the back of the central
 513 atrium. It is provided with a minute, unglazed, shuttered window,
 354 the only 'window' known in Hunas except in the houses of the Mir
 and the Wazir. The furnishings of the living room are simple but
 adequate. Two large sleeping benches, some 7 feet wide and 9 feet
 long, flank the side walls, and are raised 18 inches or so above the floor.
 The sleepers roll themselves in homespun blankets or padded quilts
 and sleep crosswise on the bench like parallel sausage rolls. One bench
 is reserved for men and the other for women. The hearth occupies
 the centre of the floor and is outlined by four stone kerbs. The sleep-
 ing benches, which serve by day as sitting places, are screened at head
 and foot by capacious cupboards, one of which serves the mistress of
 the house for her kneading trough and other utensils, another takes
 the form of a large bin with sub-divisions to hold the current supply
 of flour.

415 The normal cooking pots and oil vessels, lamp cruets, etc., are of
 324 hollowed soap-stone, often of gracefully irregular shape, reflecting that
 322 of the boulder from which they have been hewn. Gourds furnish
 177 the usual 'jugs', and wooden bowls, nowadays frequently turned on a
 lathe, the eating vessels. Wooden spoons and ladles are cut in one piece,
 the handles being formed by a convenient branch or twig. The
 delightful result is that no two pots, bowls, or spoons, are identical in
 size or shape. Unfortunately aluminium or enamelled iron vessels
 and galvanized buckets are finding their way into the country. We
 ourselves were, I fear, guilty of adding to their number and even
 introducing a few multi-service kerosene tins.

241 The greater number of field implements are still of wood, though
 412 the ploughshares are now usually shod with an iron shoe or tip, and a
 363 lucky family may have acquired an iron spade or hoe or a five-pronged
 326 iron fork. A small community of ultimately Indian origin, the Béricho,
 lives amongst the Burusho and supplies the music for their polo and
 dancing and the blacksmithery of their simple ironwork: the shears,
 the rude sickle, the sharpened scrap of iron that serves as razor.

[412] The sharpened stone or ibex horn, which till very recently served
 335 for all necessary carpentry, is now replaced by the iron-headed adze
 342 which hacks out the steps on the log ladder and shapes the narrow planks
 for doors and cupboards. The true Hunza door consists of a set of

GILGIT APPRENTICESHIP

114 these pioneers deserve the greatest credit for their work, and
 197 had to wait for forty years to find a successor. They had
 worked chiefly on the Nagir form of Burushaski, and had not,
 of course, distinguished the Shina elements in it, and they had
 to work wholly through interpreters, which accounts for much
 misunderstanding and inaccuracy. David therefore thought it
 wiser to start from scratch, as in the case of Shina and Khowar.
 Here, again, with infinitely greater labour, he amassed texts,
 notes, and vocabulary.

000 When we eventually bade a sad farewell to Gilgit in 1924
 to go "on leave, pending retirement," we were comforted by
 knowing that we need not relapse into bath-chairs in Chelten-
 ham or Camberley to bewail the good old times, the decay
 of the British Empire and the shortcomings of the young, nor
 to shout "koi hai?" to an unresponsive world, but had
 enough material in manuscript and typescript to keep us
 happily employed for the rest of our joint lives.

114 Incidentally David had snatched fleeting opportunities to
 ● 563 collect also some Wakhi material, though not on the same
 197 scale as the other three languages. Wakhi is spoken in the
 higher levels of Hunza by immigrants from the Afghan terri-
 tory of Wakhan, who have established themselves at the non-
 apricot-growing heights—often 10,000 feet and more—which
 the Hunzakuts proper consider barely habitable. Wakhi is a
 language of Persian descent, and was of particular interest to
 DL who, during many years in Persia, had made himself
 an authority on several unrecorded dialects of Modern
 Colloquial Persian, and while in Chitral had done what work
 he could on the Persian dialects of Madaglasht and Badakhshan.

THE LAST LAP

186 A note of bitterness crept into the Hunza voices. Whereas
 324 Hunza permits the Nagirkuts to cross the river and help
 798 themselves free to Hunza stones, the Nagir people levy a tax
 ● 563 on all stones taken from their side. So our folk averred; but
 578 very probably we should hear the tale reversed if we spoke to
 Nagir millers on the subject. For the Burusho of Hunza and
 Nagir, though they speak the same language, are of different
 race and mentality, and understand each other as little as the
 Saxon and the so-called Celt, and the rivalry of centuries
 divides them. At one point they both professed the Shiah faith,
 but since the Hunzukuts some four or five generations ago
 adopted the Ismaili (or "Maulai") heresy religious differences
 have added to their ever-wakeful mutual hostility.

000 Quitting these contentious subjects, we essayed some photo-
 graphs by the water's edge and turned sharp to mount a side-
 gorge and reach the level of the cliff road above, by the steepest
 thing calling itself a path you ever saw. The new Minapin
 ponies were happily sturdier than the rocking-horses, and
 managed to climb almost vertically for 600 feet or so. A
 342 brisk torrent, which is most of the time a waterfall, pours
 361 down the gorge¹ the sides of which are lined with trees and
 grass, and the track runs right through a most picturesque
 little village called Tishót. The stone houses are almost indis-
 tinguishable from the rocks against which they are built, one
 here, one 20 feet above, just wherever they can be got to stick.
 000 The ponies took the four-foot steps from boulder to boulder
 as if they had been taught circus riding up and down the
 Great Pyramid. I never professed to be a horsewoman, and I
 don't know the orthodox way of staying in the saddle when
 my pony's back is perpendicular, so I shamelessly wound my
 right hand in his flowing mane, pressed the stirrups back, and
 lurched triumphantly to the top. When we emerged on to the
 fan above we felt so virtuous after the climb that we halted
 to drink tea, though we had only done four miles and had not
 really deserved it. Our usual routine on these slow marches
 was to divide the day's ride into three: have thermos tea at
 one-third and lunch at two-thirds the distance, and thus let
 Shafi get well ahead to be preparing the evening meal.

Chapter 21

HUNZA CRAFTS

ONE of the most refreshing things about Hunza is the absence 402
of machinery. Every essential tool and utensil can be made and
mended at home, and every individual enjoys the self-respect 415
that comes from the exercise of necessary craftsmanship. The 412
picturesquely asymmetrical stone cooking-pots, oil-jars, and 463
crusie-lamps have each been fashioned by father or grand- 286
father, or it may be great-grandfather. Each has its own indi- 283
viduality and its own history. The ladles and wooden spoons
of delightful and often fantastic shape have been cut out from
suitable branched bough or root—handle and bowl in one piece,
no two alike. Your own carefully planted and tended willows
supply the flexible withies for a dozen kinds of basket, and the
man or woman who could not construct the one required
would be hard to find. Reels and spindles for spinning, bobbins
and shuttles for weaving, wooden hoes and shovels, two-
prong forks cut in one piece from the tree or the graceful
five-pronged winnowing forks with neat and skilful lashings of
gut holding their curved teeth in place, the plough, the frame
and heddles of the loom, the treadles and framework of the
lathe that turns the wooden bowl, are all home-made. You [281]
cure the skins of your own beasts for sacks and bags and boots.
When the women want more wool for spinning, any man at
any moment will shear another sheep while the women and
children hold its legs.

The only work that the home cannot itself tackle is the 326
ironwork—a very recent substitute for stone and bone and 177
horn. An occasional iron pick or shovel, fork or crowbar is 412
brought up "from below" (India or Kashmir) by a returning 563 ●

HUNZA CRAFTS

326 son, and is accounted a rare treasure; but for the most part
 177 local Béricho make such simple iron goods as are wanted: the
 412 slightly convex baking-griddle, the tripod, the simple shears,
 563 the sickle blade, the iron tip which shoes the wooden plough-
 share, the unpretentious iron razor, the rough tongs, the horse-
 shoe, the spatula for turning bread. The Béricho form the only
 "caste" in Hunza in anything like the Indian sense.

173 The story goes that long ago—two hundred years or so,
 563 perhaps—some prince of Hunza rendered a service to the
 ruler of Baltistan, and was duly asked to name his recompense.
 He coveted neither gold nor horses, but begged for a few
 families of artisans. These were presented to him and allotted
 land in Hunza where they settled and multiplied, supplying
 the Burusho with blacksmiths for such rare iron as they could
 obtain, and with musicians to enliven their feasts and games
 of polo. These strangers in the midst are treated with courtesy
 and kindness, but remain "foreigners" and social inferiors. The
 Burusho will not intermarry with them. A threat to a trouble-
 some daughter is said to be: "If you don't behave, I'll marry
 you to a Béricho"; but we never heard the threat employed,
 [65] still less a case of its being carried out. Each Burusho household
 pays a small yearly tax to the Béricho community, and in return
 the blacksmiths tour the villages once or twice a year and
 make or mend whatever is required. You will see a little crowd
 gathered in the corner of someone's garden and in the centre
 the blacksmith crouching beside his simple forge—a few stones
 ingeniously built up to contain his charcoal fire, with a neat,
 hollow tube of soapstone below it, into which the bellows
 play; a stone anvil sunk in the ground; these accessories are
 provided on the spot and the blacksmith's outfit consists of his
 hammer and his skill. The bellows is a double one; two goat-
 skin bags are fitted with a nozzle at one end; at the other, two
 wooden lips that open as you raise your hand and meet tightly
 in your fist as you press down. They are worked with the right
 and left hand alternately, and the peasant whose job is in hand
 is expected to do the blowing.

565 The Béricho preserve their own customs, and though the
 197 menfolk all talk Btrunhaki, Dumiki is the language of their

HUNZA CRAFTS

homes, and the women know no other. The existence of this interesting language-island, within the language-island of Burushaski, had been unsuspected by European scholars till DL set about investigating it. He could not devote much time to it, but gleaned enough to establish the fact—inherently probable—that it is of Indian origin, and that it has (less predictably) interesting affinities with the Gypsy of Europe, which survives even in South Wales. It is a curious fact that the Doms of Gilgit (who conjecturally are of the same stock as the Doms of India and the Béricho of Hunza) have abandoned their own language in favour of Shina. This may well be because Shina has a close relationship to Sanskrit and the modern Indian vernaculars, which Burushaski lacks, and is incomparably easier to learn. 563 197

While every Hunza family plies its own essential crafts, there are a few specially expert folk—like the master-carpenters of whom I have spoken—who undertake the weaving, turning, and milling for their neighbours. Amongst the two hundred families of Aliabad there were perhaps seven or eight recognized weavers, twice as many millers, and at least one lathe-master. 463

We were fortunate in having, on the Middle Channel above us within a few minutes' climb, two master-weavers, old Dádo of No. 7 and Uhtád Nadíro of No. 8. The narrow road-plus-water-channel that passed their houses was barely 3 feet wide, and was one of the main internal thoroughfares; but this had not prevented them from digging themselves a loom-pit under the shelter of the house wall, leaving an effective track of scarcely a foot for passers-by to squeeze along, cows, sheep, goats, or people. No one seemed to resent the encroachment. At a pinch you could always step down into the water-channel, full or empty as it might chance. During the pressure of harvest these pits had stood untenanted, and I wondered when the weaving was going to begin. 286 487

One day I had been sitting with one of Afáto's daughters-in-law, who was embroidering a festive cap for herself, asking the names of the various stitches and patterns and studying her style of sewing. There is a huge vocabulary connected with 531 492

HUNZA CRAFTS

322 would lead us home. A happy man he looked, though he told us that his back ached nowadays at work with lathe or plough, as it never used to do, and perhaps we had English medicines that would meet the case. We could only offer the sad tidings that we too, when we walked or rode or worked, were subject to fatigue and aches undreamt of in younger days, and that even in England the doctors knew no medicines to defeat on-coming age. This, oddly, seemed to comfort him a lot: "We're all ageing together then," he said, and we all three laughed a vain defiance at the years, "and we old ones have more skill and experience than the others, haven't we?"

462 Apart from their never-ending spinning the women have
241 many valuable crafts, though they are less spectacular than the
252 men's. They all bake a large variety of bread and scones from their blent flour—not only grains being pressed into the service, but pounded mulberries, walnuts, peas and beans, and semi-wild berries—and when malash is available they make cakes and pastries of a dozen kinds. The vegetable patches are in their care, and amongst their many greens, their gourds, cucumbers and marrows, they tend a lot of plants whose seeds or leaves or flowers are valued as flavourings, and grow a little flax and mustard to supplement their apricot oil. In spring their plots are lit with the large blossoms of many-coloured poppies, whose seeds are not wasted on opium but scattered into the vegetable pot. They also grow small quantities of maize as a vegetable, but they do not consider it profitable as a major crop. The kinder-hearted find a corner for tobacco for the
249 men's pipes, which circulate of an evening in the shade when
524 the day's work is done and someone tinkles a zither or tootles
● 563 on a flute. These instruments are home-made like everything else, and are often very beautifully finished; we were neither of us qualified to judge of the music the players conjured up. To our unskilled ears it sounded amateurish, but eminently cheerful and pleasing. Serious music of drum and pipe and
262 kettledrum is the monopoly of the Béricho. When the women weed their crops they sort out the dandelion, stitchwort, and sorrel for their own brews before throwing the residue to
346 the cow. And they have a varied repertoire of berries, roots,

Chapter 22

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

THE Burusho population of Hunza is divided into four major 614
clans, centred in Báltít, and several minor clans scattered over 621
other villages. Aliábád, being a "new settlement," contained 582
amongst its two hundred houses representatives of almost all
the clans. Marriage outside the race is rare, but (as I have
already said) exogamous marriage between the clans is the rule.

On the whole the Burusho cling to their settlements along 361
the eight or nine-mile stretch of river below Áltít (two or 563 ●
three miles up-river of Báltít), at a height of 6,000 to 8,000
feet above sea-level. They are not eager to colonize higher-
lying districts, for they say their womenfolk refuse to live
where the apricot will not ripen. If this is so the women show [263]
sound sense, for the dried apricot is one of their staple foods
and almost their only source of sugar. The favourite winter
breakfast is a hot porridge of these *batéring*. It thus happens
that the higher river-stretches above Báltít are mainly settled
(if at all) by Wakhi immigrants from Afghanistan. These are
a quiet, peaceable folk, markedly less intelligent than the
Burusho, loyal subjects of the Mir, well content with their
good pasturages and crops of barley and not missing the wheat
and the apricot to which they are unaccustomed. A few
Burusho colonies are scattered among the Wakhi ones, but,
though friendly relations exist, the two learn little of each
other's language; and intermarriage, though it would not be
taboo, is very rare.

Similarly a couple of the lower Hunza villages are in- 563
habited by Shins, of the same stock as the Gilgit people, but 582
again intermarriage is the exception. We had fully expected to

MARRIAGE IN HUNZA

- 563 find much more of it, and David had hoped to get some in-
582 teresting notes on the bi-lingualism of children whose parents
were of different stocks, but we came across no household
among the Burusho we met where the wife was a foreigner.
- 616 Social intercourse with Nagir is virtually non-existent. The
Hunza menfolk occasionally cross the river to barter Hunza
wool for Nagir grain, for the former is much valued, though
why, with far more extensive pasturage, the Nagir sheep should
yield inferior wool was a mystery we never solved. But though
a common language might appear to unite the two people, a
difference of religion sunders them, and profoundly different
social customs. Centuries of rivalry have left strong, latent
feelings of hostility and distrust, probably reinforced—though
this is a point on which possibly neither side has consciously
reflected—by a difference of race. The Nagir women enjoy no
such freedom and equality as the Hunza women do. They still
wear unbecoming, dark homespun bonnets concealing all their
hair while in Aliabad only one such bonnet had survived the
comparatively recent coming of the merry cotton cap. Nagir
sheep are predominantly dark brown, and in consequence
Nagir caps and chogas are of a sombre hue that fittingly sym-
bolizes the less genial temperament. Their Shi'ah mosques are
called "Houses of Mourning" (*ma'tim sera*), and their inter-
pretation of Islam seems to be as cheerless as would be a form
of Christianity that concentrated all its devotion on the sorrows
of Good Friday, and spared no thought for the rejoicings of
Easter and Christmas. Now it happens that the Arabic word
for mourning (*ma'tim*) sounds very similar to the Burushaski
metum (black). As we rode through Nagir and noted the dour
looks of the Nagirkuts, the crouching, face-averted women,
the absence of spontaneous "good days" which brighten every
Hunza chance encounter, the fact that when a Nagir prince
was riding with us his passage was unmarked by any welcome
or salute, our Hunza men would murmur with a grim satis-
faction: "Their caps are black, and their cloaks are black,
and their mosques are black, and by Allah their hearts are
black!" All travellers who have passed through the two adja-
cent states have noted the relative gloom of Nagir, and some

BARLEY SOWING AND "STARVATION SPRINGTIME"

233 any wage in our sense of the term, but that he would certainly be getting one or two free meals a day, and thus sensibly reducing the rationing problems of his own home. Hunza sheep lamb twice a year, but the goats have kids once only, in the Spring. Khano's promotion to wage-earning status was a little sad for us, for we saw him much more rarely after that.

242 One fine morning early in March the apricot trees that line
245 the Dila just in front of our rest-house were suddenly invaded by the whole Dastagul family armed with long sticks, to the end of which a sharpened piece of curved iron had been attached. With infinite care they inspected every branch, and wherever they detected the nest of an insect they snipped down the twig on which it rested. These nests were small, cocoon-like things only about an inch long, with a nasty little grub inside. The nests clung very tight to their hospitable perch, and it was often necessary to cut quite a biggish spray in order to secure them; each was diligently collected and borne home to the fire. We were not qualified to identify the pest on which war was being waged, but it was reported to devour both leaves and fruit if not destroyed. All through the country every single apricot tree is scrupulously examined and cleared—there must be thousands. We certainly did not later see a single one that seemed to be suffering from insect attack.

563 About this time we made another addition to our re-
167 tainers—a dear old grey-bearded man with the jolliest bright
361 eyes and a merry, happy smile, but not a tooth in his head, was roped in to work at Wakhi. The Wakhis, as I have said, are immigrants into the north of Hunza from the Wakhan districts of Afghanistan. They have settled in various places above the level at which the Burusho themselves care to live. Hunza men will tell you that they cannot induce their womenfolk to live where the apricot will not ripen. I suspect, however, that the men are just as unwilling to forgo their trees and wheat and fruit, but Adam-like prefer to blame their mates. The higher villages of Hunza are therefore inhabited almost wholly by Wakhi-speakers. Being unaccustomed to wheat, apricots, or

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361 trees of any kind, they do not miss them, and in compensa-
 167 tion enjoy opener valleys and wider pastures.

●563 Wakhi is an Iranian language, and, dearly as we both loved
 Burushaski, there is no denying that it was refreshing to revert
 000 to a tongue which has one form of plural instead of thirty-
 eight, and which cares no more about genders than English,
 less in fact, for it has only one word for "he" and "she."
 Charming old Farághat is a khalifa, or lay priest. He can read,
 and perhaps write a little Persian (a *very* little), but his mind
 is grammatically quite untrained, and one tense or case suits
 him for any purpose just as well as another. It is natural that
 at his age he is resistant to new ideas, but how resistant was
 almost incredible. After weeks of patient work he was no
 nearer appreciating the need for collecting the various tenses
 and participles than he was on the first day, so progress was
 slow. DL's patience amazed me. There would, of course,
 have been no use showing impatience, for it would have merely
 served to scatter such ideas as the nice old fellow had, and he
 was doing his best. There are some strange and wonderful
 consonant combinations in Wakhi, and Khalifa Farághat's
 lack of teeth did not make them any easier to diagnose: is it
 sh-kh-th, or th-kh-sh? It was clear that the hope of extracting
 any intelligible text of even the simplest form from Farághat
 was nil, and the Mir very kindly promised to fetch down from
 up-country a professional Wakhi story-teller to supplement.
 We awaited his arrival with eagerness. Picture our dismay
 when he proved to be an equally kindly, equally aged, equally
 toothless, equally futile old bird. Farághat had brought with
 him his youngest son, an extraordinarily handsome little
 fellow of nine or ten, so that the child might not miss his daily
 lessons, and as they sat about together pouring over a tattered,
 well-thumbed primer of some sort they made a touching
 picture.

It would be very unfair to generalize about Wakhi racial
 character from two such elderly men, but the impression these
 two left on us of kindly slow-wittedness confirmed DL's
 impressions of ten years earlier, when he had been travelling
 through their districts and had tried to get informants to work

FINALITIES

126 entered everywhere. There were no landmarks: every house was a rough replica of every other and not certainly identifiable from any distance, every poplar tree which from one point of vantage stood out in splendid isolation immediately fell into line with a dozen others when you walked a hundred yards. The whole habitable country was tilted at an angle of 45 or 50 degrees, and seamed with sunken rock-ravines; the river was perennially invisible in its gorge; tracks and water-courses were sunk between high walls, and not to be divined unless you were actually in them out of sight of everything: a heartbreaking, leg-exhausting task, the sketch map that DL coveted.

A second important task was an enquiry into matters of revenue and taxation. To have questioned the peasantry, except very casually and incidentally, would again have been to excite curiosity as to ulterior motives—the non-existence of which might well have seemed incredible—though we did manage to accumulate a good deal of information that was invaluable as corroborative material. The only way to get coherent information was to approach the Mir direct and beg permission to enlist the assistance of Prince Jamál Khán, now his grandfather's right hand in administrative matters, and then try to keep the boy's untrained attention from wandering off the point at issue.

600 All the while book-boxes had to be gradually packed and top-dressed with lighter material so as to make manageable loads, new boxes had to be conjured out of old to take the curious and unwieldy articles—from bows to winnowing forks—ultimately destined for some museum. The contents of each box had to be inventoried in detail, for Customs purposes as well as for our own reference, then strongly wired, then painted with name and numbers. Dádo and the rest helped manfully over all such tasks as they could tackle, but much could be done only by DL or by myself.

197
563 Finally there was one blind spot of language which cried out for—and got—attention, the Dumáki spoken by the alien Béricho, that minute language-island within the larger language-island of Burushaski itself.

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account of 512 Burushaski-speakers recorded in the 1931 Census as resident in the Gilgit Wazarat, and one as resident in North Kashmir. The total thus becomes 20,813¹.

The local distribution of these linguistic groups has now to be considered. On examination it will be found that they fall in the main within definite and unbroken geographical limits. In Hunza from the North southwards down the Herber valley, to and including Galmit the population are Wakhis, speaking Wakhi, with the exception of the inhabitants of Khudābād (population 97), Nazimābād (82) and Misgār (174). Proceeding down, southwards and westwards, through Hunza, the rest of the population are Burushaski-speaking with the exception of the two villages, Hindi (977) and Māyūn (207) whose primary language is Shina.

In Nagir there are no Wakhi-speakers, but the Burushaski-Shina dividing line falls at practically the same point as in Hunza, viz. at Minapin opposite Hindi. From and including Minapin down the valley, with the exception of Sikandarābād (406, a recent settlement) and Chalt (587), the people of Nagir are primarily Shina-speakers.

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It is to be remarked, however, that these radical linguistic distinctions are to a large extent masked, if not superficially deleted, by bilingualism. I believe that all Shina-speakers of both Hunza and Nagir readily understand and speak Burushaski. This is not so with the Wakhis, of whom only a few know the language of their neighbours. On the other hand the Wakhis have imposed their own language on the Burusho settled in Shimshal, and Wakhi elements are to be found in place-names in all the northern part of the country.

563

How far do these linguistic divisions represent also ethnic divisions? Are the Wakhi-speakers (Guwicho, sg. Guits, Guwi-cho, Gu-i-ts), the Burushaski-speakers (Burūsho, sg. Burūshin, Buru-šo, Buru-shin) and the Shina-speakers (sg. and pl. Shēn, Shēn) to be regarded as racially distinct peoples?

¹ The figure 26,076 given in the Kashmir Census Report 1931, Vol. XXV p. 237, appears to be incorrect. It is still incorrect if the figures for Warchikwar are taken into account.

Introduction

In the first case the answer is easy. The Wakhis are certainly 563 of totally distinct stock from the Burusho. Much more difficult is the question of the relation of the Burusho and the Shina-speakers. My visual impressions would lead me to regard the Shên of lower Nagir as an essentially different people from the Burusho of Hunza. They seem to me to represent a distinctly lower type in regard to apparent mentality and sanitary ideals. A large proportion of the child-population of Minapin and the villages below it are cretinous in appearance and dirty in person. I have not had an opportunity of comparing the people of the Hunza Shên villages of Hindi and Mayun, either with their Nagir *vis à vis* or with their Burusho fellow-"nationals". How far again is there any difference between the 184 Burusho of Hunza and the Burusho of Nagir? That is a question 577 which I cannot answer from any adequate personal observation; 361 but it is the general impression among European visitors that there is a marked difference in temperament between the two peoples. The Hunza Burusho are felt to be a happy and cheerful people, their Nagir counterparts give an impression of something approaching sornbreness and depression. This alleged difference is attributed to the effect of living respectively on the sunny and on the shady, in winter almost sunless, side of the valley. It might also be in part attributable to political conditions or religious outlook.

There is a further criterion which is of dubious value, but may be 125 worth brief mention here. In 1924 I took a number of anthropometrical 141 measurements of men of all parts of the Gilgit Political Agency. The subjects were members of the Gilgit corps of Scouts, and so were all men in their prime, mostly in early manhood. These measurements were recorded uninstructedly according to an antiquated scheme of Topinard's and modern experts have judged them not worth wasting time and labour on, but they were taken on a consistent technique and are therefore comparable among themselves. I shall quote here only 141 measurements which, in the nature of things, it seems probable are reasonably correct. The figures given are averages obtained by dividing the sum total of measurements in each case by the number of subjects.

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439 shares, sickles, shovel-blades, axes, adze-heads and cooking-pots. A few aluminium vessels may now be seen in the hands of the peasants. Any iron work done locally is done by the Bêricho (sg. Bêrits; b'êrî-cho, b'êrî-ta), corresponding to the Doms of Gilgit, who provide the musicians and metal-workers of the community and are regarded as at the bottom of the social scale. They are probably, as elsewhere, of foreign (Indian?) origin. Carpentry, formerly also [335] within the sphere of the Bêricho, is now generally practised by individual Burusho.

Cotton cloth, now used by practically the whole population of both sexes for shirts and trousers, is imported. Some foreign shoes and sandals may also be seen. All the sugar and most of the salt used are also imported. Both are in demand and the import apparently does not satisfy the public desire, the cost being no doubt the obstacle.

463 Tailors and washermen form no part of the indigenous social scheme, but nowadays one or two men can be found who have some skill in these crafts acquired abroad.

Arts.

531 I have seen very little of decoration or ornamentation in any medium, nor any aesthetic production which could be classified under the heading of the plastic arts. Embroidery until very recently was practised only in the harems of the élite. The ordinary women who are free to pursue, in the open and unveiled, their domestic functions and many kinds of agricultural work, are sufficiently occupied to feel little urge to concern themselves with such elegant triflings, but the girls and young women, before and after marriage, embroider caps for themselves with taste and skill.

Occasional specimens of wood-carving are to be seen, chiefly in the derelict masjids.

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534 Of the other arts, dancing is a traditional and living institution, and is still practised on ceremonial occasions by even the highest ranks of society. The accompanying music is, however, supplied by the despised Bêricho. Occasionally the notes of a flute in the hands of an amateur is heard and the sitâr is known.

Index of proper names

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- Bartek*. Name of a man. 88.13 ff.
- Barti*. Name of a man. 272.9, 274.8.
- Barādar*. Name of a man. 88.9.
- Bart i Jamāl*. Name of a man. 48.1.
- Barti Kutor*. Name of a clan settled in Shimshāl. 272.2, 14.
- Balto*. Baltistān. 384.10. (Cp. *Balowski* and *Sb. Palr*).
- Balots*. Bāltis, people of Baltistān. 274.7.
- Baltistan*. Baltistān. 274.1, 6.
- Bani Ḥasim*. The family of the Prophet Muḥammad. 92.2.
- Bapo*. A son of the Tham, *Qhazan Khān*. 344.11.
- Bor'Aḡale*. The territory of the Barātāling clan. 200.1.
- Bor'atāling, Boratāling*. One of the "Four Clans of Bāltit". Shadun Kapūri was a Barātāling woman married to a man of the *Khūrūkuts* v. 268.3.
- Kulio Laskir (200.9) was of this tribe.
- At one time they shared the Ūtar grazing-grounds with the *Khūrūkuts* and the *Dīrāmīting*. 268.5.
- Dances at marriage festivals. 302.9.
- Borbor*. Name of a place in Ūtar(?).
- Cave. 226.7. Irrigation Channel. 360.3, 362.6.
- Borča*. Name of the Wazir of Shiri Badat. 384.4, 19.
- Bamy Gai'ri*. A former Tham of Nagir. 276.1 ff.
- The name is also given as *Masry*.
- Batava*. Nullah and glacier which debouch from the West into the valley of the Hunza River just above Pasu.
- B'ericho*, ag. *Berits*, an alien people, calling themselves *Duan'a*, who are settled in small numbers in Hunza and Nagir. They serve the community as blacksmiths and musicians. They have an Indo-Aryan language of their own, but also speak Burushaski fluently. [563]
- B'erikale*. The territory of the B'ericho. 290.11.
- Bibi Anjir*. Name of a woman. 384.10.
- Bidiro Mal*. The "Round Field", a field belonging to the village of Sumaiyar. 108.9.
- Bir'aldo Bor*. A valley and glacier, formerly traversable, between Shimshāl and Baltistān. For present conditions v. "Unknown Karakoram" by R. C. F. Schomberg. 1936.
- Boru Tham*. A king of Halhatyāl (Hunza). He is mentioned with Shāh Tham, Nōni Tham and Lali Tham as contemporaneous kings (or members of the ruling family?) of Hunza, expelled and supplanted by Kizar. 142.16.
- Biddulph, in his genealogical table of the Nagir and Hunza royal families ("Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh", p. 128) begins with

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made entirely of soft pliable leather, the lower part, including the soles, from yak hide and the upper part from cow or ibex hide.

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I wanted to learn as much as possible about the good people of Hunza. Therefore I was interested in their crafts and craftsmanship.

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All of the cloth used in making the garments the people wear and the special Hunzan hats are woven on looms that have been in use for hundreds of years. They weave 3 distinct types of material. It takes about 3 days to weave a length of approximately 15 yards of the best cloth, which is hardly sufficient to make a man's and a woman's "choga." The woman's requires 7 yards and the man's takes 9 yards. They trade commodities in exchange for the weaving. Then, during the winter, the men of the households cut and stitch the garments into durable, warm clothing.

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The village blacksmith is also the music maker. Somehow, to me, that seems most appropriate for the clang of the hammer on the anvil rings a true music. These blacksmiths and musicians live in a section entirely of their own and they seem to keep mostly to themselves. It seems that all of the blacksmith-musicians of Hunza belong to a tribe known as the Bericho.

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These people were sent to Hunza long, long ago by the Prince of Baltistan who was repaying a favor rendered him by the Mir of Hunza. These people have retained their independence and identity and do not generally take part in Hunzan activities. They even speak a language of their own known as Dumaki. This is also referred to as the speech of the Doma, or Bericho, of Hunza.

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These people dwell in a quaint village or a community entirely of their own located just below Baltit. The history, the behavior and the manners and occupa-

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326 tion of these unusual people stirred up an interest within
533 me, and I wanted to know more about them. I found
563 very little data could be obtained from any of the books
I had been able to read on the subject.

[173] But after much discourse and questioning, I learned
what I had begun to suspect . . . that the Bericho were
actually gypsies who had come to India more than
2,000 years ago. From India, as good gypsies would do,
they fanned out to spread themselves in small groups
over the entire country . . . some ultimately settling in
Baltistan, from whence a colony were sent off to Hunza.

Their place of abode is actually a village known as
Berishal. It is a known fact that the people of Hunza
depend entirely upon the Bericho for their iron-
mongering and their tool-smithing and their music-
making.

I was very happy to have unearthed this information
so I can pass it along to my readers.

[871] These Berichos used to send their children out of
[167] Hunza to be educated and the Mir told me that he
had to put a stop to this practice . . . not because he
objected to the children of the Bericho being educated,
but because the children did not return or remain with
the trade of their parents. As the Mir's country needed
artisans of this type, he had to put a stop to their send-
ing their children elsewhere for education.

[414] The Mir went on to tell me how important these
Berichos were to the community. They fashioned farm
implements as well as hardware like hinges, latches,
razors and many other essential farm and household
necessities that are fashioned from metal. Besides mak-
ing the implements of peace, the blacksmith could also
fashion a shotgun barrel.

[651] He further mentioned that each household in the
community pays a small tithe as a contribution to-

wards the maintenance of the Berichos and they travel about the villages mending and repairing items requiring attention, and, of course, providing music and entertainment wherever it is required. I guess they could be compared to the traveling tinkers of Ireland.

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The Bericho blacksmith shop contained all the accoutrements found in the blacksmith shops of America. There was a pit in which charcoal was laid and kept alive and glowing by a pair of goatskin bellows... the customer usually wielded the bellows while his implement was being manufactured or repaired. There were many necessary tools—hammers of various sizes and tongs and, of course, a large chunk of some old machine that served as an anvil.

Then there was the goldsmith. He didn't fashion much out of gold any more because there wasn't much gold. Some time ago there was a quantity of gold washed from the Chalt and Hunza Rivers. This was done at times when the rivers had receded to a low ebb and then the sand left on what was the river bottom a few weeks or months previous was washed for signs of gold. The people who collected or panned or mined this gold were called "marooh."

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This Hunzan goldsmith also made silver trinkets, rings, bracelets, medallions, pendants, ear rings, broaches and other articles of the craft. What's more, they were set with attractive colored stones, for the mountains around Hunza abound with many beautiful and valuable stones. As the women of Hunza do love and wear jewelry, the goldsmith was kept quite busy.

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Yes, there was a wood turner in the area, too. Whether or not his craft has improved since the advent of John Clark, the American engineer who set up a wood carving school with his headquarters in the old Baltit Fort, I am unable to say. But from the work

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140 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE GILGIT AGENCY [CH. IV.]

131 it lies entirely on the right bank of the Hunza river ; above Hunza, as far as the passes of the Hindu-Kush, it embraces both banks. It is bounded on the north and east by the Hindu-Kush, which separates it from the Pamirs and the valley of the Yarkand river ; to the west, by a range which separates it from the Karunibar or Ishkuman valley ; and to the south, by the Hunza river which divides it from Nagar. The
161 total population probably amounts to some ten thousand souls. The country is racially separated into two divisions, Gujhal and Kanjut. Gujhal begins at a village called Gulmit, eighteen miles above Hunza, stretches to the passes, and is inhabited by emigrants from Wakhan, who still speak the dialect of their original home. Kanjut or Hunza proper comprises the rest of the country, and is inhabited by a Dard race of the Yeshkun caste, speaking Burishki.

173 Hunza and Nagar were, according to tradition, ruled by the same chief till some centuries ago, when the ruler of the day divided the country between his two twin sons, who were deadly enemies. The Hunza ruler was murdered by one of his brother's adherents, and left an only daughter. This young lady fell in love with her cousin, the son of the ruler of Nagar, and the lovers met, necessarily by stealth, the prince swimming across the Hunza river every night. The result was a son, the founder of the present line, which is called Ayesabé, or heavenly ; for, to conceal the mishap, the story in Hunza is that the father was a prince from Shignan, but that his name having been forgotten he was called Ayesbo, or the "heaven-sent." The Hunza chief is styled Thum, as was his brother

- 487 difficult pass on to the Shimshal Pamir, from whence a road goes to Ujadbai in the Sirikol Valley. On this Pamir dwell a number of Kirghiz, who pay tribute to the Thum of Hunza, and here the wild yak (*P. grunniens*) and the kyang (*E. Hemionus*) find their most western limit. The Pamir appears to lie north-west and south-east. From its north side the Kara Kuchkar Pass leads to Raskum, once a flourishing settlement, situated on one of the many branches which form the south-western source of the Yarkund River.
- [136] Considerably further to the north-east are the two small communities of Pakpooch and Shakshooch, situated on different tributary streams. Pakpooch is said to contain about 4,000 and Shakshooch about 5,000 souls, and they are situated respectively at an elevation of about 10,000 and 9,000 feet.
- [142] Both pay tribute to the ruler of Hunza. These curious people, of whom very little is known, are of Aryan race, and are described as being of very fair and ruddy complexion.
- [147] Their language is Chagatai Turki, but, like the Ghalchah tribes of Sirikol and the countries north of the Hindoo Koosh to the westward, many of them speak Persian also. Dr. Bellew,¹ who met some men of the tribe, speaks of them as being a tall, very fair, and handsome race, of a purely Aryan physiognomy, and describes them as poorly clad, carrying matchlocks, of timid and subdued demeanour, and very cautious of giving any information regarding themselves. He mentions that they spoke Turki to other people, but conversed among themselves in a totally different language. He says that they are Mussulmans of the Shiah sect, like the Wakhs and Badakhshis,—that is, Maulais.

Nearly due north of Hunza is the small mountain state of Sirikol. The rulers of the two states have ever maintained a close friendship in spite of the mountains which separate them. From Girtchah in Goohjal, Tashkurgan is reached in eight days. Horses can only travel by the Kilik route, which is longer than that by the Kirish Pass; but the road is excellent and open all the year to both horses and camels. For about two months in summer the road by Misgar is impracticable for horses on account of the depth of the stream that has to be forded. The route by Rishipjerab and Derdee is then used, but men on foot can travel by Misgar at all times. Good roads also lead to Lungar and Kabr-i-Bosai in Wakhan territory.